361
351 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [487] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all [192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
368 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

127
362 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11, 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half [355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have [311] been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
419 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
322 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and
499 Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
368 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
574 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

727 The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
[361] Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheeled cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

824 [262] [432] [462] [494]

Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use, with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater, the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

241 262

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki) (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese, Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

[263] [252]

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L) is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment, or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

[231]

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

[184] [221] [252] [251]

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce, it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883 (1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883 (1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121 (1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412 (0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 462 435 The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades. 415 482 494

080 One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Hinatogawa stone is considered the best.

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Hinatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Hinatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle.

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Henza islands. Most of these settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain.

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets.

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years.

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price

The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area, the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience, stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts, the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders. A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten inches thick sells for Y140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

60% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared.

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year.

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport.

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo.

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera-

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

Alcoholic Beverages

493 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village [366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

493 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
494 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies,
[850] cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods, [262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

493 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

494 Import stores (hyakujō), also operated privately, are a different
262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
511 the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village retailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy [342] work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Obtaining News of a Larger World

203

While it is an error to think of villages as isolated social and economic units, it would be a mistake also to fail to mention the existing obstacles to communication and the dissemination of news.

207

There are virtually no radio sets in any of these villages, except in the schools and sometimes in a village office. Home radio sets invariably need repairs. In Hanashiro, which has no electricity, there were 3 radios, two of which did not work. There were 4 in Hinatogawa, with one at least not working, and six in Matsuda, three of which were in the primary school, one in the village office. In these villages there is electricity from about 6:30 to 10:30 in the winter and from 7 to 11 PM in the summer. The radio is not an important direct medium for obtaining news. If they can, villagers tune in Japanese stations for news, music, and entertainment. There is a need for simple and cheap means of reaching rural areas by radio.

204

Newspapers are more important media. But in late 1951 and early 1952, there were 5 newspaper subscribers in Hanashiro, one going to the village office where it could be read by all, 14 in Hinatogawa, and about 20 in Matsuda, reduced from a previous 40 by an increase in the subscription rate. The barbershop in Matsuda had a newspaper. Schools and the township and village offices subscribe. It is difficult to estimate actual circulation. My own observation is that newspaper reading under these conditions is casual and intermittent, that newspapers are read consistently only by the village officials, school teachers, and the regular subscribers. News from Naha, the other Ryukyu islands, and from international sources is disseminated largely by word of mouth. Local readers make their reading a subject of conversation. There is no lack of interest in broader questions and in international events. The negotiations leading up to the Japanese peace treaty were followed with great interest by many villagers in Matsuda. [203]

Japanese magazines, particularly movie magazines, are popular despite their high cost. They are widely read not only by the young, but by older men and women, including school teachers.

206

Telephones are not a part of home life. There were two privately installed field telephones in Hinatogawa, but no private telephones in the other villages. The village office, the post office are equipped with phones.

484 [494]

The possibilities of obtaining more direct knowledge of other parts of Okinawa island have increased since the war. One can travel by public transportation from the southern part of the island to the extreme north in a reasonable time and not too uncomfortably. Provincial attitudes still remain. Persons in the southern villages

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year.

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten.

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol.

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature,

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference [311]
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 62
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.